

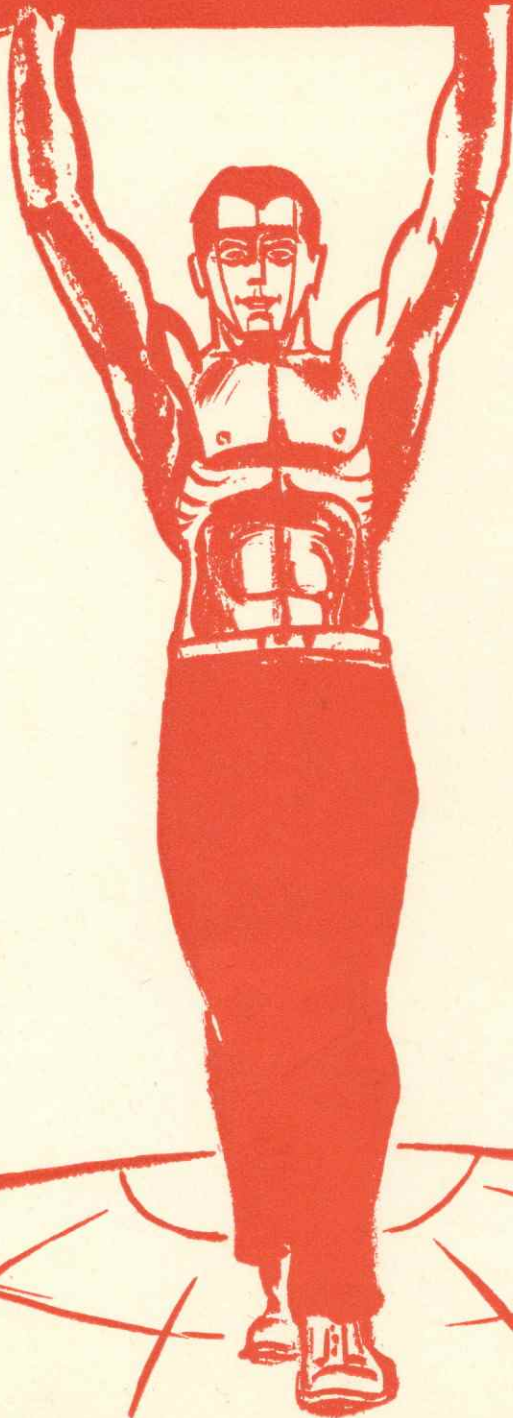
# INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

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Summer 1948

AN APPEAL  
The Trial of San Polo  
"107 Years in Prison for the  
Death of a Fascist."

The trial of San Polo has been judged Twenty-seven years in prison for our Comrade Ilario Filippi, who executed in 1946, the vice-secretary of the Fascists of Florence. His sentence was reduced to eighteen years. The sentence of four other comrades was reduced from twenty years to thirteen years each. These four comrades were without any responsibility in the affair, simply being guilty of belonging to the same organization as Filippi, the Communist Internationalist Party of Italy, and to be revolutionaries.

This move, therefore, against the comrades, went beyond that which we were able to foresee-----nevertheless, from the beginning of the trial, it was clear that the action intended for the execution of Della Robbia, fascist from the first, had the character of political repression of the Party of the Class. When the verdict was given, another thing was already brought out; And we quote, "Battaglia Comunista", a left revival of the war of retaliation." With regard to the atmosphere of the trial, those who viewed it, and were acquainted, as communist militants, with the Tribunals of Mussolini, found in this, the same contempt of all rights; the same use of all pretexts as a necessary preliminary to strike against us.

Regardless of the subordination of the jury to the magistrate, such a disgrace should not have been possible in Florence, where the "victim" was unpopular and justly hated, as much for his exploits in the period of the "squadristis," as for his subsequent role, in particular, for the massacre of fourteen partisans in the last period of the war.

It was not possible to master the phrases of hatred hurled by the accused, who accounted for, and justified themselves sufficiently by the suffering they endured. To drag them away from their families and their occupations; to deprive them of their liberty through the years, is to make known to the young workers of the "Very Christian Republic" of De Gasperi, that they have the same fate in store for them as the fate of their elders in the Fascist "revolution." With the transparent excuse, "to avoid incidents," the judgment of the affair was transferred to Aquila at the Court of Assizes. This is because the verdict handed down, would not have been possible in Florence.

In a different atmosphere from that which determined the act of Filippi, and the reactions of the four other workers of San Polo, it was easy to persuade the "democratically appointed" jury that this is a terrorist affair, and therefore, forcing the authority to apply exceptional penalties.

However, the Communist Internationalist Party of Italy, showing complete solidarity with its own, will vindicate the revolt which pushed Filippi to kill a man who represented to all, the suffering inflicted by war and fascism. The Court will not be able to ignore the fact that it is itself prosecuting a Marxist Party; a party which bases its action and revolutionary perspectives on the reality of the class struggle and not on the method of individual violence.

During the war, the violence against the fascists - which frequently were not the soldiers of the German army - was the work of the holy institution of democracy and nationalism. Today, that which counts, is "order;" the order of the three parties (Stalinist, Socialist, Christian Democrats) which with Togliatti as Minister of Justice, pronounced the administrative order for the imprisonment

of the fascists. The order of the Christian government has committed the infamy of the trial at Aquila. This process, as in the other domains of society, is clear: The reinforcement and stabilization of bourgeois rule, of which the proletariat and revolutionary militants must bear the brunt and whose duty it is to smash. Such a verdict, three years after the "liberation," three years after the end of a war proclaimed to have been fought for the extirpation of Fascism; after all the juridical comedy of purification (purgos of fascists) (which the party denounced clearly, developing the propaganda for social revolution and not "punishment of fascists") is significant of the line given by the situation. The line of reestablishment of the "law and order" of all the parties, in which they, (the 3 mass parties) have concurred, renders the proletariat unable to defend itself socially, to sweep away an ignoble society, which, isolating the revolutionary militants to the degree that the bourgeois tribunals wish to permit, allows the juridic outrage as that of Aquila, without fear, in return, of the class violence that it merits.

We are completely in solidarity with our comrades in a situation which deprives them of their freedom; as it limits the possibilities of revolutionary struggle. We are only sorry that this solidarity is not able to be expressed by armed action, as would be the case in the periods of revolutionary agitation of the proletarian masses. The only form of solidarity which is vouchsafed us by the relationship of forces in Italy and internationally, is that of material aid to the imprisoned, forced away two years since, from their struggle; their activity; their families. We are duty bound to seize upon this too modest opportunity to express our fraternity with these young militant internationalists, of whom we understand their firm and fiery attitude toward their judges. Workers of all tendencies, and of numerous cities have responded to the call of the Internationalist Communist Party of Italy for the political prisoners of San Polo. Today the condemned have made an appeal to the highest Court of Cassation. Our solidarity with them must be continued. All the Internationalists of France must participate. It is a Political Act. It is the only thing left to do. Friends, do not fail us.

Translated by D.A.

L'Internationaliste, August 1948  
French Fraction, Left Communist  
International

The American fraction of the Left Communist International declares its solidarity with its condemned comrades in Italy and with the party, the Communist Internationalist Party of Italy.

Please send contributions, financial and material aid (such as food and clothing) to.....David Atkins

850 East 175th St.

Bronx 60, N.Y.

or

Jacques Guatrat

51bis, Aves des Charmes

Fontenay-s/-Bois (Seine)

France



## Evaluations and Perspectives

The Taft-Hartley Act became law almost a year ago. We can now estimate its effect on the American workers, and on the capitalist trade unions such as the C.I.O., A.F.L. and Railroad Brotherhoods.

The main goal of the Taft-Hartley law is to substitute labor-management collaboration for the class struggle in the United States.

The first step in this direction was to attempt to reduce the number of strikes against capital. The workers answered this to the tune of 276,000 men on strike and 3,670,000 man days away from work in the first quarter of 1947; in 1948, 645,000 men on strike and 7,730,000 man days away from work. Obviously the Taft-Hartley law failed in its most elementary task, the task of assuring the American Bourgeoisie continuous production with profit at an all time high.

The Act, secondly, aimed at slowing down the ability of the workers to strike with speed. It provides for 60 day notice of termination of contract or abrogation of contract by either party to the contract. If no settlement is reached within 30 days the Federal Mediation and Conciliation service must be called in. The motive is to increase the red tape and paper work concerning notice of strikes and to limit the strike weapon of the American worker by all kinds of legal chicanery.

The theory that the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service would be more favorable to big capital if separated from the Labor Department is a distinction without a difference. It reveals disagreement on what techniques should be used by the capitalist state to suppress the working class.

The outlawing of the closed shop and its follow-up by the enactment of similar laws in several states has not had as yet, a noticeable effect on the workers as a whole, except in the case of the International Typographic Union, and the National Maritime Union. The over-all effect will be felt during an actual depression, or, in the worst variant, during World War III. If the campaign against the closed shop has temporarily stalled, that should not lull the working class to sleep. That is due to the control of large segments of labor supply by the capitalist trade unions; a big demand for semi-skilled and unskilled labor, and the present willingness by capital to permit a worker to join the union in his industry 30 days after being hired. These are factors temporarily preventing the total abolition of the closed shop. This does not mean that the bourgeoisie has given up the idea of outlawing it. Rather, the capitalist class fears at one fell blow to arouse revolt of the working class. It must proceed piecemeal to accomplish the total repression of the workingman. This it does by picking off the labor unions one at a time, or by picking at certain blocs of labor unions, such as the Stalinist-led labor unions and subjecting them to the investigations, prosecutions and convictions provided by the Taft-Hartley law. Thus by this technique the other segments of the working class do not arouse themselves and fight back. They erroneously conclude that they are safe from the offensive of the capitalist state against the working class in general.

The Taft-Hartley Act aims to outlaw industry-wide collective bargaining and thereby enable company unions and restricted craft unions to destroy the mass production-International unions. It provides for notice of elections for union recognition if it can be certified that a majority of the workers in a plant want such an election. This, theoretically, enables the capitalist class to disintegrate the big mass production labor unions. In practice this has not worked out at all. The big trusts would rather deal with the trade unions as they are

since the labor leaders are collaborators of the capitalist class. Therefore, bargaining on an industry wide basis facilitates the strategy of the boss class.

Finally, the provisions for filing anti-Communist affidavits or else lose union recognition and collective bargaining rights, aim at accomplishing the disintegration of the trade unions; the abolition of the closed shop; the right to strike etc., if all the other provisions of the T-H Act fail. The leadership of the capitalist trade unions fought against filing the anti-Communist affidavits as a prostitute fights to defend her virtue. The agents of Imperialist Russia did not file anti-Communist affidavits in the unions under their domination because they are far more adept in manipulating masses of workers under their thumb than their American counterparts. Where they had no alternative, they placed more respectable stooges at the helm of their unions.

Thus, till now, the most important aim of the T-H Act has failed of accomplishment. It has failed to root out from the labor sector of American Imperialism, the apparatus and influence of the Stalinists. Yet, this the American capitalist state must accomplish in order to wage a successful Imperialist war against Imperialist Russia.

### The Capitalist Alternative

In the present period the brute force of the capitalist state and its local agencies of coercion become more active as the legal machinery of the T-H law fails to get results. The police and the national guard were called out against the C.I.O. packinghouse workers. The leadership of this union instead of working out an intelligent policy of getting the national guardsmen to understand that the workers are their class brothers and therefore should not break their strikes, bowed down meekly before the might of the capitalists and ordered the strikers back to work on the basis of the bosses program of improvements offered to them before the strike. They went back to work without gaining one single union demand. This was a defeat.

The leadership of the Railroad Brotherhoods instead of standing as one made separate peace. When they tried to save face and sent out a call for a general strike of all operating railroad workers, the capitalist state stepped in and said that this is a strike against the government and therefore insurrectionary. It proceeded to order the workers to run the railroads under martial law. The R.R. union leaders turned to the workers and said, "See, we must call off the strike against 'our government'". The demand of Whitney to nationalize the Railroads was the cry of a drowning man for help. A cry to relieve his union bureaucracy of the pressure of the workers for strike action. This traitorous policy is enabling the courts of the Capitalist state to slap down injunctions against strike. The tendency is to declare these injunctions permanent, thus outlawing the right to strike. Yes, the lines of capitalist "democracy" and Fascism begin to merge.

The immediate need for the improvement of the conditions of the steelworkers is met by the policy of sanctifying bourgeois contracts. This was Murray's sole answer to the steelworkers. His criticism of Henry Wallaces' type of fakery at the recent convention of the steelworkers was a shield under cover of which he capitulated to the U.S. Steel Corporation.

### Ideology of the Capitalist Trade Union Leadership

The foregoing were the outstanding highlights in the recent period of the process of betrayal of the workers' interests by the capitalist trade union leadership. What is the significance of this phenomena?

In essence, the capitalist trade unions are a labor front for the United States capitalist government.

The leadership and apparatus of the capitalist trade unions worship at the shrine of the capitalist state. They manoeuvre so that the unions become part of a state-capitalist set-up. They sanctify bourgeois property relations. They idealize labor-management agreements. This is because they fear the mass resentment of the workers under intolerable oppression of the boss class, requiring the use of the strike weapon, contract or no contract. They are firm believers of Imperialist war. This capitalist trade union leadership is the handmaiden of religion in getting the workers to look for pie-in-the-sky instead of following a policy of class-struggle.

### Lessons for Revolutionary Trade Unionists

Strikes in this scheme of relationships, are merely jousts in an arena, wherein the labor fakers allow the wage-slaves to blow off steam, so that the arena, capitalism, might not be wrecked by a titanic social explosion. This means there can be no compromise with the capitalist trade union leadership. The forces of the working class must be marshalled for an all out struggle to destroy the influence of this leadership. It follows that if the capitalist trade unions are a labor front for the capitalist state, there can be no perspective of reform of these unions just as the capitalist state itself cannot be reformed but only smashed.

Since the revolutionaries have not as yet the mass support of the workers, it would be sheer folly to attempt the building of revolutionary Industrial unions at this time. The basic task required is to fight side by side with our class brothers in the historic struggle for a revolutionary party and union movement on the road to a socialist reorganization of society.

To that end we must form workers' opposition groups in the unions independent of the capitalist labor front leadership of the stripe of Reuther, Curren, Murray, Green on the one hand and the capitalist labor front leadership of Russian Imperialism on the other hand.

#### Our platform must:-

- 1- Expose the capitalist class character of the U.S. government.
- 2- Expose the capitalist character of its Trade Union leadership.
- 3- The pro-capitalist, anti-working class role of the capitalist trade unions.
- 4- The necessity for the working class to break from the capitalist state and its trade union lieutenants.
- 5- Against a capitalist labor party.
- 6- For a Revolutionary Marxist Party.
- 7- For a world Socialist Society as the goal of an International Workers State.



What Every Worker Should Know About the Mundt-Nixon Bill

When the existence of "Democracy" is threatened, its pretense of morality is dropped. With capitalist law and order as the end, the use of every means is justified; cunning, treachery, violence, prison and death. For all capitalist law and order is for the sake of the "Community," and the individual must be sacrificed to the "common good".

All existing governments use words to veil the facts. The American state, its ruling class, and apologists use words in such a way that the exploited are not aware of the demagoguery. If on the other hand the lies are noticed, more excuses, and bigger lies are used to hide the truth about the exploitative character of the government of the United States.

The Mundt-Nixon Bill would be one more step toward the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship of the capitalist class in the United States. It is the inevitable centralization of bourgeois politics, reflecting the centralization of capital in the economic sphere.

Demagogically enough the wording of the Mundt-Nixon bill would lead the naive and uninformed to believe that the purpose of the bill is to avoid the danger of totalitarian rule in the U.S. Actually, what it seeks to do is prevent foreign totalitarian rule in the U.S. It leaves the door wide open for the totalitarian dictatorship of our native variety of capitalism. In other words the Mundt-Nixon Bill is part of the struggle of American Capitalism against Russian State capitalism.

The Bill charges first:- That totalitarian dictatorship is characterized by the existence of a single political party and that the difference between that party and its state is indistinguishable.

In reply to the first charge, it must be stated that while totalitarian dictatorship is synonymous with a one-party state, such a political system has nothing in common with the rule of the proletariat. Obviously, Russia is the nation meant by this accusation in the Mundt-Nixon Bill. By falsely identifying Russia with the rule of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie and its satellites plant the fear of workers' revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the minds of the workers themselves. This fear till now has been successfully implanted in the mind of the working class because of the obvious tyranny of Stalinist rule and its imperialist policies. Through this trickery the American bourgeoisie serves to hide from the American working class its own drive to totalitarianism. The two-party system of the United States expressing sham differences within the American Capitalist class, does not advance the interests of the working class. The effect gives the illusion of real democracy. In reality, democracy exists for the capitalist class only. Even so, democracy for the capitalist class does not operate without resistance on the part of certain sections of that class. Witness the opposition to Henry Wallace's third capitalist party getting on the ballot. Fundamentally, this opposition to Henry Wallace is motivated by the conviction that Russia as a potential market for American goods can only be opened by military conquest.

While it is true that at the present stage the United States seems to give more civil rights to the individual than in Russia, the direction in which the American economy and its politics is moving is police-military dictatorship and at a later stage state-capitalist dictatorship (fascism-totalitarianism)

The Mundt-Nixon bill whether or not it becomes law accelerates this tendency to state-capitalism. Since the two-party system and its appendage, Wallace's third party, does not represent the workers, but the capitalists and their state, the American two-party system is no more distinguishable from the state than a one-party state dictatorship.

The second indictment in the Bill, that free, democratic institutions in any country would be destroyed by the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship, means free elections and parliamentary democracy would disappear.

We reply, parliamentary democracy, or the U.S. congress is a false front to make the workers believe they elect their government and are represented in that government. Actually, the government is operated by behind-the-scenes committees on the military, financial, legislative and labor fronts. They in turn are run by the capitalist trusts and world cartels. This means that the capitalist class dictates in the interest of its own class. "Democratic institutions", is the terminology used to hide the real dictatorship of the capitalist class from the eyes and the minds of the workers.

The third charge is a moral indictment of world Stalinism. The history of U.S. Imperialism, on the basis of this charge is itself a history of deceit, treachery, infiltration into other groups, (governmental and otherwise); espionage, sabotage, terrorism etc., for the purpose of establishing the domination of American Imperialism on a world scale. One example of each will suffice to show what we mean.

Treachery - Collaboration with British Imperialism in the Middle East to preserve American Oil imperialism, under cover of recognition to an Imperialist satellite Jewish State in order to retain the misguided support of the Jewish proletariat.

Deceit - Inlabelling a democracy any police-military dictatorship that is a satellite of U.S. Imperialism. Examples - Turkey, Greece, Korea, Japan, German western occupied zones, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela.

Espionage and Agents provocateurs - The U.S. maintains intelligence agents in Russia and its satellite territories.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation keeps records of fingerprints of almost every working individual in the U.S., including radicals. It puts agents in the field abroad to safeguard the U.S. capitalist dictatorship in Latin and South America.

Sabotage - We hold no brief for Nazi Imperialism, but since "morality" seems to be the leit-motif of this charge it must be stated that the U.S. organized, subsidized destruction of railroads, ships, industrial plants in areas dominated and ruled by Nazi Imperialism. Undoubtedly the same is being planned by the U.S. for the near future in that same area, now ruled by Russian Imperialism and its satellites. Undoubtedly Russian Imperialism plans the same sabotage within the areas of domination and rule of American Imperialism. The Mundt-Nixon Bill's charge of immorality against Stalinism cannot be said to be an effective moral guide in politics since it hides the political immorality of the accusers.

Terrorism - The U.S. armed resistance groups (francs-tireurs) and guerillas during the last War. They were used in fighting the Nazis. Tomorrow these will be employed against Imperialist Russia. The U.S. has encouraged desertion from the political, diplomatic and military apparatus of the Russian Imperialist State and its satellites, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

In the sphere of morality, Russian, American, English, French, Dutch and Belgian Imperialism is immoral.

In reply to charges 4 and 5 it can be demonstrated that the U.S. directs and controls a world movement which is vested in the capitalist dictatorship of the U.S.



American Imperialism controls political parties and governments outside its national boundaries. It wields this control in the Marshall Plan countries of Western Europe, in the Middle East, Latin and South America, the Caribbean, China, Japan, the Pacific.

Charge 6 describes the methods Stalinism uses to undermine and overthrow existing governments. The U.S. imperialists use the same methods in seeking to undermine and overthrow the Russian Imperialist government and its satellites.

Charge 7 amplifies charge 6.

Charge 8 points out the necessity to World Stalinism to have agents travel from country to country to further the common objectives of Stalinism.

Charge 9 states those who knowingly or unknowingly participate in any part of the Stalinist movement repudiate their allegiance to the U.S. for that of Russia. The stupidity of American bourgeois politicians is abysmal. Stalinism adapts itself to the national patriotism of western capitalist states, accusing the ruling class of not being true patriots. The real truth is the Stalinists are Russian patriots and the allegiance of the American ruling class is to its class interests, not to the myth of national patriotism with which it poisons the minds of the workers.

Charge 10 brands the establishment in numerous foreign countries of Stalinist governments, against the will of the people as totalitarian dictatorships. This is the case of the pot calling the kettle black. Two Imperialist robber classes, Russian and American accuse each other of being robbed.

Charge 11 exposes the whole game. It charges that recent Stalinist successes present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and therefore asks that Congress take measures internally to prevent Stalinism from taking power in the United States, and in the interim prevent Stalinism from sabotaging and hamstringing a future war of American Imperialism against Russian Imperialism.

Needless to say, our reply to charge 11 is, Russian, American, world Imperialism and satellite political-economic systems continually threaten, undermine, and destroy the security of the toiling populations of the world; plunge them into wars of conquest, resulting in mass slaughter, famine, homelessness, unemployment, racial, religious and national persecution. Finally, the toiling masses are suppressed politically and economically by the capitalist class. They, the workers are saddled by monstrous despotisms, against which they are left without defense. This is the tragedy of being deluded into support of Russian, American, British, French or any other imperialism.

Section 3 of the proposed Landt-Nixon Bill consists of a series of definitions under which individuals and organizations would be prosecuted and convicted according to the provisions of the proposed act.

On the basis of these definitions and provisions, one person, a group of persons, organization, corporation, company, partnership, association, trust, foundation, or fund, whether these forms of natural activity are incorporated or not, permanent or of temporary character; all are liable to prosecution and conviction if they advocate the basic principles and tactics of communism as expounded by Marx and Lenin.

Obviously many anti-Stalinist groups that advocate the teachings of Marx and Lenin are liable to arrest and conviction if this bill is enacted into law. Long before this bill was proposed, Attorney General Clark issued public listings of "subversive" organizations. These include organizations of an anti-Stalinist character advocating the principles of communism based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Socialist or social-democratic organizations that teach according to their own pronouncements, the principles of Marxism will be subject to prosecution. Items that...

Associations that preach any kind of social change, which might conceivably weaken the ownership and control of society by the capitalist class would be subject to the definitions and provisions of this proposed law. That means Revolutionary Marxists, Liberals, Socialists, Stalinists, Anarchists and rebellious labor unions would be declared illegal. This also means the creation of American ghettos for the racial and religious minorities since they benefit from a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist status-quo.

More advocacy of unpopular political ideologies become illegal under this proposed act. The idea and the act; propaganda and the deed; become one; therefore illegal. The merger of thought; propaganda and action into one, liable to criminal prosecution for treason, is the same kind of political structure under which Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan committed mass murder. It is also the same system under which Russia carries out its mass political murders and operates its slave labor camps.

Section 4 of this poisonous document lists the acts to be prohibited by law. It declares it as unlawful to set up a totalitarian dictatorship under the domination or control of any foreign government, organization or individual; to facilitate bringing about the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship; to participate in the management and supervision of such a movement; to conspire to do anything unlawful under this sub-section.

Conviction is punishable by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for 10 years or both.

Any offense is punishable without regard to any statute of limitations. This means that if any individual, group or organization is convicted under this act and sentence cannot be carried out because the culprits have escaped or are in hiding, they will suffer the possibility of arrest and imprisonment if they are apprehended 100 years after the original sentence and are lucky enough to be alive. They are subject to arrest and imprisonment even if by that time they have long renounced the ideology of which they were originally convicted.

Section 5 of the proposed bill strikes against alien workers in the U.S., as well as against naturalized foreign born.

Alien workers are subject to deportation for participation in anti-capitalist organizations. Result- they are intimidated; are difficult to radicalize, and become pillars of support for capitalist rule. They will work for wages lower than the prevailing scale to escape persecution and lose their identity in the vast slums of the large industrial centers. They become an object of prejudice to the rest of the workers.

The naturalized citizen as a worker is subject to the same process of repression in addition to loss of citizenship and resultant deportation. The office of the U.S. attorney general has been engaged in a series of deportation cases anyhow. What the proposed bill does is to make the law more consistent so that the intimidation and persecution of the alien worker will be more systematic.

Section 6 prohibits Federal employment to any individual who is a member of a communist political organization. The principle of restricting employment in the Federal civil service to individuals who want to maintain capitalism will inevitably lead to widespread discrimination in the labor unions and private industry. Thus revolutionary minded workers and their allies will be prevented from providing food, shelter and clothing for themselves and their families.

Section 7 declares it unlawful for members of communist political organizations to apply for passports. This will inevitably be used against anti-Stalinist communist groups; socialist and anarchist organizations.

It declares it unlawful for any officer or employee of the U.S. government to issue or renew passports to individuals who are members of communist political organizations. This must inevitably apply as well to anti-stalinist communist groups; to socialist, anarchist, and liberal labor groups. In effect the United States becomes a prison house.

Section 8 requires each communist political organization including any so defined by the Attorney General to register with the Attorney General the name and address of officers of such organizations and the names and addresses of its members. Annual financial reports to the Attorney General are also required under this proposed bill.

Section 9 requires the Attorney General to keep a separate register for communist organizations. Such register to be open for public inspection. Annual reports and at any time requested by either house by resolution shall be submitted by the Attorney General to the President and Congress with respect to the carrying out of the provisions of this proposed act, including the names of the organizations and their membership lists.

Section 8 and 9 give the green light to the national guard and vigilante groups to raid, terrorize and murder minority political and racial groups as a forerunner of similar terrorism against the working class as a whole.

Section 10 makes it unlawful for individuals to remain members of communist organizations if such organizations have not registered their officers and membership lists with the Attorney General.

This means that all radical organizations will be declared illegal, and their members subject to criminal prosecution. Inevitably the militant labor-unionists will be driven underground. The remaining shell will be a forced labor corps for the capitalist state.

Section 11 requires that in transmitting material through the mails organizations registered under section 8 or designated as communist by the Attorney General must have stamped or printed on their material this inscription, "Disseminated by....., a communist organization." Organizations of two or more persons are subject to this regulation. Radio broadcasts are required to be preceded by the following statement; "The following program is sponsored by....., a communist organization."

Radio listeners prejudiced by capitalist propaganda in the schools, press and radio cannot therefore listen with open minds. "Citizens Groups" will make public protest and in effect the radio as a channel of communication will be closed to any and all worth-while educational projects.

In the transmission of material through the mails the U.S. postmaster general will inevitably interpret the provisions of this section to mean that revolutionary literature may be torn open, censored or excluded from the mail.

This is another nail in the coffin of bourgeois democracy.



Section 12 denies tax exemption or deductions to so-called communist organizations and to the individuals contributing to them.

Section 13 empowers the Attorney General to investigate any organization which he believes is Communist and which is not registered under section 8.

The Attorney General would have as a consequence, the power of a one man dictator similar to that of Stalin.

Section 14 provides for the dubious right of judicial review and appeal to the U.S. court of appeals for the District of Columbia; by designated Communist organizations. Obviously such appeals would be thrown out. These courts would operate on the same hypocritical basis as the "Peoples' Courts" of Hitler Germany and the "Peoples' Courts" of Stalin's Russia.

Section 15 provides, in its own words, "Penalties." As if all the other sections and sub-sections didn't insure penalties for being against capitalism.

It provides that any person failing to register or file an annual report shall be fined not less than \$2,000 and no more than \$5,000. If the failure to register is due to an executive officer of the organization he shall be subject to a fine of not less than \$2,000 and not more than \$5,000 or imprisonment for not less than 2 years and not more than 5 years or both such fine and imprisonment. Each day of failure to register whether on the part of the organization or individual so required by the Attorney General shall constitute a separate offense.

False statements as to fact or the omission of required facts is punishable by a fine of not less than \$2,000 and not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not less than 2 years and not more than 5 years or by both fine and imprisonment.

Any person violating any provision of this act for which there is no penalty on conviction may be fined not more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or by both fine and imprisonment.

This last condemns the whole working class, in advance, communist, non-communist, and anti-communist alike.

Part a and b of the above section add additional limitations to the advocacy of any anti-capitalist program within the legal framework of capitalism.

Section 16 provides a guarantee that if any provision of the act shall be held invalid, the rest of the provisions against what is defined as communist, shall continue to be valid.

### Conclusion

The capitalist class of the United States is seeking once again the road to Imperialist War. Imperialist War is the only road that capitalism can choose to avoid depression and mass unemployment, leading to a revolutionary crisis. War steps up industrial production; creates full employment by draining part of the workers into the armed forces, the rest into an industrial mobilization. Continued profits for the U.S. capitalist class depend on the bloody adventures for the conquest of foreign markets. The very nature of capitalist society as such demands such a solution. No other road is possible for it.

U.S. capitalism finds it necessary to search for ways and means to outlaw the social and political aims of the working class. This is to guarantee the stability of the capitalist dictatorship and the success of its Imperialist war aims. To-day, a Mundt-Nixon bill may be shelved, tomorrow such proposed measures establishing a regime of fascist character will be inevitable. That is, it is inevitable as long as the perspective for maintaining capitalism and or reforming it remains the platform of parties, unions and leaders at present dominating the minds of the working class. The platform of the Stalinist, Trotskyist (Cannon or Shactman) the C.I.O., A.F.L., and Wallaces' third capitalist party undermine the fight against capitalism and Imperialist War.

Reliance upon these organizations and their line of carrying out the Bill of Rights is reliance on the very instrumentality with which the capitalist class intends to suppress the working class. Appeals to the unconstitutionality of proposed acts such as the Mundt-Nixon bill dooms the struggle against the repressive measures of the capitalist state before hand. The guarantee of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness regardless of race, creed or color in the Bill of Rights is the very excuse that the bourgeoisie will use to exterminate any group whose ideology, as defined by the bourgeoisie, is totalitarian and therefore a threat to the Bill of Rights. Using the capitalist's own basic code of law to fight the fascist measures of the capitalist state only ends in defeat. The passage of the Hart-Hartley act into law is proof enough.

We sharply counter-pose to the above, the line of building a revolutionary Marxist party whose goal is socialism and whose task is to rouse the working class into action against the capitalist state.

In the course of this struggle it is increasingly necessary for the groups who want to be revolutionary to hold ranks against the capitalist offensive. In order to aid and defend victims of the class war we propose the organization of a labor defense movement. The opportunists have their own defense set-ups. It is time the revolutionary minded groups establish a defense organization on a class struggle basis.

Without fail, let us act.

D.A.

The First Congress of the Internationalist Communist Party of Italy

The Internationalist Communist Party of Italy held its first national congress on the 5th -9th Of May, 1948 in Florence, was reestablished in the last phase of the war. It affirmed itself there and then as the force of revolutionary defeatism, against the national democratic resistance and the fascist war as well.

It continues the political tradition of the Italian Left which founded the Communist Party in 1921. It was rapidly expelled under orders from Moscow. From the beginning, it was outstanding in its struggle against opportunism in the 3rd International. Finally it came out openly with its principles and founded the left fraction. This struggle in the emigration aided the crystallization of the Belgian and French groups of the Left Communist Internationalists.

One cannot understand the significance of the Congress at Florence without going back to the formation of the Internationalist Communist Party, so that one may understand the problems of its activity. It is a duty to clarify this point. To us, of France; it has an interest chiefly because the Trotskyist 4th International there is fossilized and more and more diluted. Whereas the revolutionary spirit falls into the effeminate hands of anarchism; a madness and confusion in every respect, regarding action and revolutionary conscience; from the tradition of critical intelligence to the new historic phase we live in.

The conclusions, we sum up here, of the debate in Florence on the tasks of the Party and the International situation, contribute an indirect, but precise answer, on the fundamental questions.

The International Situation and the Tasks of the Party  
at the Congress of Florence

Notwithstanding the sharpness of the discussion at times, it is necessary to acquire a knowledge of the general background of the Party on the Following:-

1- The formation and development of the Internationalist Communist Party does not derive from the particular revolutionary conditions of Italy. Neither at the time of the fall of Mussolini; nor during the period of the partisan war; nor under the reconstruction; nor in the last phase of the passage of Stalinism to the "opposition"; the general relation of classes is no different from that which exists in the rest of the world. On the plane of the world-wide historic situation, it is characterized by a total absence of the working class as a revolutionary force; by its political dissolution into the national and democratic ideology.

The counter-part of the incapacity of the working class to transform the last conflict into a class war is the actual evolution toward a third Imperialist Massacre. Whatever the rythm toward which it is precipitated, a return to a "peace" economy is excluded, and the inter-imperialist antagonisms, thru the intermediary of different national parties, continue to dominate the political scene without having to cope with the working class. The situation of the proletariat is aggravated. It is our task to reverse the course of events toward the breaking up of the armies of Imperialism.

2- The reappearance of the forces of Internationalist Communism in Italy may perhaps be attributed to the vitality of this tradition in the workers' movement of this country; to the undaunted will to militant struggle, formed in the great social events which preceded and accompanied the advent of fascism to power.



Notwithstanding the gravity of the actual situation, there exists a firm base for the reconstruction of the international political movement of the proletariat. It resides in the fact, that at least in Italy, already existed on the morrow after the war, an organization speaking the language of class front against national reconstruction; of Socialism against the Capitalist State; of the revolution as against parliamentarism; of the political independence of the proletariat as against compromise with the fractions of the Bourgeoisie; finally and above all, the language of Internationalism against that of Imperialism; against Imperialism camouflaged behind the principle of "self-determination of the peoples".

Once the resurgent forces of the tradition of the Left Communist affirmed openly the principles of the proletarian struggle, it was an unavoidable duty to organize itself to defend its ideas, likewise the working class, to the hilt. Likewise, granting the actual non-existence of a revolutionary perspective, the organization must be jealously defended, as the indispensable condition to the safeguarding, education, control of the existing revolutionary energies.

3- In the absence of all offensive action by the proletarian class, this organization does not propose, nor ever proposed to group behind the wide posterior of the bourgeoisie, or to substitute, on the terrain of the economic struggle, bourgeois politics for that of the revolution. The role of the economic struggle limits itself to introducing the possibility, leading to effective action by the Party at the places of work. There must be a division of labor in order to render the revolutionary energies qualified for the responsibilities which will be shouldered by the Party of the Class in the next historical crisis of the Bourgeois regime. This is what some individuals must be made to understand.

4- If the Left Communist International has reappeared in a situation which excludes the proletarian political organization from a position of leadership in the class struggle, it was not always able to affirm itself as a Party. At the time of the advent of Fascism, it was still the radical fraction of an International in which it struggled against the rise of a new centrism. But this cycle of the fraction is historically closed with the passage of the 3rd International to the side of Bourgeois reconstruction. The class split is complete between the Moscow movement and Internationalist Communism. It is a duty therefore to expose it.

5- In spite of the firm base of a clear proletarian platform, the development of this Party as the leading force of the revolutionary struggle, without accepting failure, remains extremely precarious due to the fact of the social relationship of forces. The price of the impulse, intentionally, aiming at a break up of actual isolation, not corresponding to any social reality, represents the germ of opportunism. We propose the development of scientific work which, marking each stage of the historical movement of the proletariat and to whom the phenomena of the decadence of the Bourgeoisie is of prime importance. (The transformation of the economic and social structure in the world; the total alteration of organisms which served formerly the struggle of the proletariat).

6- The International Bureau will strive to take upon itself international clarification on the political and theoretical aspects. It is inconceivable within the national framework.

#### Facts and Disagreements

Two facts, among others were revealed in the discussion which developed on these points. The first is the profound unity of the party. It is not without use to cite this, because life itself makes inevitable, differences of feeling deriving

from the diversity of formation and experience of individuals which only the Party is able to surmount, permitting a condition in which positions can be compared.

On the question of theoretical effort, one responsible comrade took an ambiguous position from which he seemed to conclude that theoretical effort is the only task possible to the Party. The reaction to the suggestion of impotence to influence the situation was made clear. In particular some proletarian elements who came to hear, hissed and cat-called. The malodorous word, "compromise" came from the mouth of a militant from the factory who approved of the party influence at the places of work. Vigourously stating that such a conception would signify reducing the organization to those groups susceptible to scientific work. The Party is likewise the organ of struggle for the proletarian revolution.

The delegates who insisted on the necessity of a critical analysis of the actual phase of domination of the bourgeoisie, found themselves most vigorously fighting to keep the Party against the illusion that the freedom permitted to propagandize by the democratic bourgeoisie represents at the same time the possibility to receive revolutionary affirmation of the Party, by analogy to that which existed in the illegal phase. They called upon their comrades to reject such an idea and to consider uniquely the Fundamental Relationship of class forces. The democratic mechanism has not changed in favor of the proletariat, but in favor of the bourgeoisie. On this line they demanded that the Party renounce immediately the politics followed up to that time, although modified in the last elections, from a presentation of lists on an anti-parliamentary position well understood (aiming to use the electoral campaign in order to carry on revolutionary propaganda). But the Congress of the Party including those who would defend this traditional tactic of the 3rd International, declared themselves without hesitation for this appeal.

#### The Evolution of the Union Question

The Union question, which was the subject of another debate, revealed itself on the contrary, as a thorny point. That is, for another reason, easily understandable; the complete alteration of the unions in the totalitarian phase no longer permits the workers' movement to rely on the perspectives and criteria of the 3rd International; but when the social evolution brings about the decay of old positions, experience confirms the need, without the capacity of itself (the unions) to sharpen the struggle amidst the striving for precise lines of militant revolutionary action.

Two years ago, at the Congress of the Party at Turin, the positions evolved on the union question were given. As perspective and directive; the reconstruction of the unions on a class basis. As practical position; opposition through direct action to class collaboration and the struggle for the extension of the demands of the movement. As tactic; the presentation of lists of the Party for the elections to the internal commissions and to the Union, on our full political program. The thesis of C.P. for the Congress of Florence, as well as the Union Manifesto within which this is brought out, mark a profound change, and together, on all points corresponds to the positions of the Left Communist International.

The perspective of the destruction of the unions at the same time that of the State (to which it tends to integrate itself in the totalitarian phase of capitalism) in the course of the revolutionary offensives to come. The reconstruction of the mass organs of the proletariat, is not only historically foreseen on the highest level of direct political struggle against all the organs of the state, and therefore does not assume the mere aspect of "class unions". In practice, the union fraction which gathers together the groups of the Party militants in the factories, is unable, in the actual situation, to make itself the promoter of demands; for one



thing, there does not exist any possibility of immediate amelioration in the frame of the decadent capitalist regime, for the other, the movements unrolling themselves under control of the forces of war, without the relation of forces permitting their displacement on the terrain of revolutionary politics. In conclusion, the union fraction must intervene through agitation in order to demonstrate that the problems of daily life of the workers have become directly the problem of revolutionary force. Its task is essentially political and directed against the imperialist forces, which, at the head of the unions, imprison the proletariat, rend it apart, and paralyze it completely.

In the last place, the dominance of these same local organs of the unions, is declared incompatible with the dominance of the party.

Our delegates saluted this new orientation, responding to the criticism of the French fraction, formulated against the past positions of the party. But the discussion at the same Congress has not indicated, in its general effect - and above all the factory militants - sensitivity to the general problem. As the Comrades responsible for calling attention to the necessity of taking a position to solve these problems contingent on daily action; moreover, do not know to what degree the Party is prepared, after the Congress, to orient its activity through agitation at the places of work, according to the thesis presented by the Central Committee. It is a question of internal maturing and only the future will demonstrate how the party will respond.

### Conclusions

The historic situation in which the Congress is placed is marked by necessary limits. This situation is the total absence of the proletariat from the political scene. It is a crisis of Marxism, which buried for 20 years, since the onset of revisionism, of which the Proletarian Party, in the course of a century of tortured existence, has never known as grave. In these conditions one cannot expect full affirmation of the theoretical and political positions achieved by the vanguard. The Party is not able to achieve this maximum affirmation by itself in the radical confusion of the situation. To proclaim that an organization represents this tendency it is essential that it take a critical position as against all the others; their theoretical postulates, historical, and practical, is in continuity with the critical positions of revolutionary marxism in the different historic phases. The platform adopted at Turin and on which the Party united is clearly manifested at the Congress of Florence, filled entirely these conditions. It remains to appreciate its opportunities, not to rest on the sidelines, nor succumb to the formidable pressure of an unfavorable relation of forces. In this regard, the Congress of Florence, furnished important positive indications; its clear appreciation of the actual situation as the drive to war, and the role of the party as essentially critical; the rejection of the tactic of "revolutionary parliamentarism," and instead, the simple presentation of party lists for the revolutionary utilization of the electoral campaign; extending into the Union question, of a politics and of criteria corresponding to a phase that is ended, and an effort to respond to the real conditions of the totalitarian period; the sensitivity of the Party to the theoretical tasks posed by its conscience and not merely unsatisfactory affirmation through activism.

At the Congress were grouped a hundred or so delegates coming from the industrial centers of North and South Italy. This delegation and the quality of intervention have already indicated a political maturing and a certain organizational development of the party during the two years which have passed since the founding



Congress of Turin. The positions presented at that time by the local groups, such as the aim to resolve the problems deriving from an unfavorable relation of forces between the classes, in proposing the substitution of new unions or factory committees for the barracks unions of the official state, were not represented at Florence and their partisans themselves recognized that they were superseded. Therefore, in general, the Congress concluded on a favorable note in which is involved the political affirmation, and the reenforcement of the ideological unity of the Internationalist Communist Party of Italy in the period to come. This, most certainly does not resemble an official report of conquest of mass organizations or of opportunist opposition; but the highest respect the revolutionary militants are able to render to the comrades struggling on the same intransigent class line, and that the same development of their organization places them in front of major difficulties and responsibilities.

From L'Internationaliste (July, 1948)  
French Fraction of the L.C.I.

### Letter From a Worker

The traditions of October have been robbed of their revolutionary content by the Stalinist movement. It signifies to the worker, as he tends to go to the left, some kind of connection with the Bolsheviks of Russia. To the advanced worker the twists and turns of the Stalinists are counter-revolutionary, representing State Capitalist Russia. To the backward worker, the explanations of the fascist Russophiles seem logical when he realizes the need for socialism. The Stalinist movement was never revolutionary. The writer of this article was once duped into being an active member of the YCL in the early 30's. Like Schachtman, who once said that ".....in 1927 I was editor of the Daily Worker, when it was a revolutionary paper".

The revolutionary defeats and betrayals perpetrated by the Comintern in a whole series of historical debacles, such as the British General Strike of 1926; the Chinese Revolution in 1927; the Hungarian Revolution of 1919; the German Revolution of 1923 and capitulation to Hitler in 1933; Spanish War, 1936-1939; National Patriotism in World War 2; signify the world activity of an Imperialist State, Russia.

The twists and turns of the Third International did not start in 1926 or later as the Trotskyites would have you believe. With every congress of the Third International there was a different line. Labor Party, no Labor Party; United Fronts, no United Fronts; socialism is around the corner, socialism isn't around the corner; were policies advocated before Trotsky was expelled and while he was one of the leading lights of the international. In other words, no revolutionary international really existed. True there were isolated groups or parties that conveyed some really revolutionary ideologies like the left-communists, or better known among "socialist" circles as the Bordighists, who were isolated from the working class and driven underground for two decades because of the existence of fascism in many European countries.

Today with a militant international current they are carrying out in theory and practice the revolutionary concepts on the role of the party. They did not break from the Comintern recently. They split in 1921, because of the counter revolutionary policies of Russia and the Third International. Unlike Trotsky, there was no collaboration with the dishonesty of the Stalins, Zinovievs, Kamenevs, Bukharins etc.

Trotsky represented a traditional break, because he pretended the role of a martyr. According to his works, and the words of the Schachtmans and Cannons, Trotsky fought all his life for a role against Stalin. In 1924 or 25, 250,000 workers of the opposition in Leningrad marched in protest against Stalin, but LT made sure that that was stifled. No where did Trotsky come out in militant fight for what he termed was his "course". Instead, time and time again does he admit his complete collaboration, in his calling Max Eastman a liar, on the Testament\* and his voting unanimously with the congress on the Stalinist resolutions.

When LT was expelled and exiled from Russia, it was only then that he began to write and expose the bureaucracy. Until then, he was actually a part of it and worked closely with these political degenerates.

Today, world Trotskyism, is disintegrating both in and outside of the Fourth International. The Mongone faction of the Italian section has been expelled from the Fourth International, because they are too left; the Munis tendency resigned, taking with them the Mexican section; the Cuban section; some of the French and Germans, as well as groups in Peru, Russian occupied zones, Indo-China etc. There is today hope that this tendency will develop in a revolutionary direction. This, of course is a secret from the Cannon and Schachtman workers, but it will become general knowledge.

Trotskyism has had as many twists and turns in its movement, in as many years, as the Stalinists have. Anyone who is unbiased and has been close to them for any length of time will know and realize what is meant by that. At any rate they are an obstacle in the way of building a revolutionary movement in America. Now that the fetish of a labor party has come to pass, there is no room for socialist propaganda. The American worker who follows or sympathizes with Trotskyism comes to believe that the labor Party is the best substitute for the revolution.

What is left to do? Is the scene hopeless in the US or the world? In Europe, the Stalinists have grown in numbers to the extent of millions, because the workers are duped into believing that Stalinism stands for socialism. The Trotskyites, though split, have numbers in their movements, also pretending to work for socialism. Actually, they are left-Stalinists (Cannon) or left-bourgeois (Schachtman). No, the scene is not hopeless, as the correct role of the party will determine the future of the working class.

"Only a party which knows how to lead, that is to advance things, wins support in stormy times". (The Russian Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg, p. 15) Thus it is clear that in every revolution only that party is capable of seizing the leadership and power which has the courage to issue the appropriate watchwords for driving the revolution ahead, and the courage to draw all the necessary conclusions from the situation." (Ibid p. 14).

The party must understand the development of capitalism as we know it and not analyze it as mere quotes from Marx and Lenin. We must see the development of the situation from our eyes and not only from their prophecies. Neither Marx, nor Lenin saw the advent of fascism or state capitalism as is developing at the present time.

In our stage of development, we must understand the colonial question, and know that the colonial bourgeoisie are just as oppressive and dominant as their masters in the mother country. Therefore, neither bourgeois revolutions, nor the principle of bourgeois national self-determination are progressive today.

The party must not collaborate in anyway, as functionaries or otherwise, with the bureaucrats in the trade unions. What is the difference, if we burn ourselves with fire or with acid; we hurt and scar just the same. To form united fronts with the Currans and Lawrensons against the Stalinists is like preferring the fire to the acid. Yes, we must aid the workers in the unions (in this instance, reference is made to the IMU) in the class struggle, but we must never forget to bring our ideas to the workers and when in contact with them, teach them who their friends and enemies really are. We openly state, that we shall assume leadership in the unions, only on the basis of our full political program.

Since, as we have stated, Stalinism and Trotzkyism are obstacles to the emancipation of the working class, it is a necessity to expose these pseudo-proletarian parties. We declare our solidarity, internationally with the revolutionary marxists, and that is why we connect ourselves with the left-communists of Italy, France and Belgium. "Workers of the world unite you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain" (Karl Marx). The role of the party is the role of the working class. We are not a clergy, but an actual part of the class itself. We are not in agreement with some who say that we must not accept the petit-bourgeoisie or the intellectuals, as they do not feel as the worker does. We do, however, believe that although they may make good socialists, they may not make good leaders of the workers.

The party must be flexible, to the extent where certain differences may arise they must be resolved through democratic centralism. There are certain basic international positions, that must be maintained intransigently. Except for these, other positions may be held by individuals, who should have the right to fight for what they believe is a correct line inside the organization. There is one thing that we must all remember; no two people think and act exactly alike and when an organization becomes monolithic, its members stop thinking for themselves, and are as apt to betray as not.

We would like to make an appeal to workers who read our publication to get in touch with us whether you are at present in an organization or not. A truly revolutionary line is needed in the US and help is urgently required to carry it to the workers. The future needs us, so let us know if you are interested. There are back issues of the International Bulletin, now available for anyone who wants them so that you can get a clearer picture of our line.

Of course, the question of the role of the party would really take volumes of writing. Discussion, either in writing, or verbal, is invited by us. Write and we will answer.

\*Comrade Lenin has not left any 'will'.....all talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated 'will' is nothing but a despicable lie....." (LT, Inprecorr, Sept. 3, 1925, p. 1005)

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### Significance of the MMU Elections

Unionism in the maritime field is not exactly new. Although, prior to 1935 militancy was not known. Many, if not all of the existing organizations were, what might be called, "sweetheart" unions.

The first union in the field started, actually, as a fraternal organization, on the great lakes and called itself, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. It grew and shrunk, accepted and expelled freely; but limited itself then, as today, solely to licensed officers. It turned out to have a quite militant rank and file when it participated in the strike of October 1946. Today it is a member of the CIO on the high seas as well as the lakes.

In 1896 a group of captains and mates got together to form a fraternal organization which emphasized racial chauvenism. Because of that reason alone, negro licensed personnel were kept from American ships. Today Captain Musae alone, is the only negro captain, thanks to the war. He is captain of the Liberty Ship, Booker T. Washington. The MMP (Masters Mates & Pilots), is today a member of the AFL, and also participated in the strikes of 1946.

Next, there arose in 1901, the "Marine Cooks and Stewards" who is the west coast maritime representative of the CIO. Although the CIO is supposed to be an industrial organization, the very name of the union implies otherwise. It is today Stalinist dominated, and works hand in hand with Harry Bridges on the west coast.

The "International Seamen Union," and the "Sailors Union of the Pacific," were the next unions to arise and then came the "Marine Fireman, Oilers, Watertenders, and Wipers," which still remains an independent union. In a later article I shall show how this union was sold out by its bigger brothers.

The ISU soon grew in power and strength, bypassing all of the smaller unions but was all the more a sellout union. Its patrolmen were known to take bribes from the companies as well as the captains on the ships. The rank and file soon grew tired of the machinations of the union bureaucrats.

Another significant factor that aided the situation, was that the Stalinist line was to help build the new CIO, and therefore the Stalinists penetrated the maritime field to agitate for the overthrow of the ISU machine. Joseph Curran, an uneducated typically reputed seaman, having gone no higher than the 6th grade, was picked out to do the leading for the new line. He was not a Stalinist, but in him was found a good follower at the time. He was bos'n of the "California," which is now the "Brazil." The call for a strike was sounded and Curran refused to work his men. A mutiny charge was issued, but didn't stick. He was made head of the strike committee ~~inspite of never having~~ led anything before.

A small office was opened on 11th Avenue and a call for a new union was the order of the day. There was an attempt in 1935 to start the new union, but the strike was lost. Again, in 1936, with not much luck, but 1937, a vote was taken and only 3 companies out of some 60 odd voted to remain in the old ISU. This was its death knell, and the MMU was born.

With its birth, there arose all the sicknesses of infancy. It was infiltrated with stool pigeons. The best known, was Jerry King, who was known to have conferences with the bosses. Curran and Lundberg fell out, and another group split, and went back to the AFL, taking with them some of the members and some of the companies.

The MUU lived and thrived in spite of all this, and is today the biggest union in the field. The first president was Joe Curran, elected in 1937. Today's president is Joe Curran, elected in 1948. The only difference is that until 1946 he maintained Stalinist support, but today there is a factional fight between Curran, and the Stalinists which meant their defeat for the time being.

The "Rank and File" caucus, which is not led by the rank and file, is today in the leadership of the union. These bureaucrats have been supported by the Trotskites of all shades. To them Stalinophobia has been so great that they will support Washington as against Moscow. This is a new twist in the opportunism, of the Cannonites. But can be expected as far as the Schachtmanites go.

How did this all start? Why is the "great" Curran, and Stalinists having a fall-out? Did he see through them, and is trying to "save" the union from Moscow? The answer can be seen when we look back to 1946, when Murray made a public statement to "kick all the commies out of the union." Curran is one of the vice presidents of the CIO, and there is one of the key answers to a seemingly puzzling question. It all began officially at a closed meeting, and being a member, I was there, when a letter from a certain Rogers, an ex-Stalinist was read to the membership, accusing some of his ex-comrades of manuvering against him and having him transferred. He was an organizer on the lakes.

Curran got up on the platform and said that he did not care what politics were being practiced in the union, but, keep your name calling out. Rogers was also called a Trotskite by his ex-friends.

The snowball started rolling down hill and gained in size as well as momentum. A new scapegoat was needed by the new opposition; so one was made. Joseph Stack, vice-president in charge of organization was the one soon to be named. Curran brought out a list of charges which under normal circumstances would not hold water, but a crises began to foment, and a lot of reactionaries from out of town were brought in, and, Stack was publicly damned, and accused of having done everything from theft to sexual perversion. One meeting in Manhattan Center, a Stalinist (Blackie Meyers) was chairman and the vote was manuevered, in fact, not even counted; the meeting was then recessed to St. Nicholas Arena for the following Saturday, and another vote was taken which put Brother Stack on the losing side.

From there on the Curranites grew in strength and number, and have taken the Stalinists for the well known ride. For how long, I am yet to analyse. With the help of the Trotskites, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and other factions in the union, Curran, still hold the reins, and is going forward.

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In the next issue, I shall analyse further, the present events in the MUU and try to predict as a member, and observer, what the future of the workers and union as a whole, will be, with the new bureaucracy. I also will tell you how I think the support should have run, and who is helping to betray, in the MUU.

Soviet Russia  
October Revolution till Now

What are the economic characteristics, if any, which would permit us today to consider Russia as a proletarian regime? One might, indeed, for political and international reasons judge it as a regime evolving from private economy to socialist economy, but still not realizing the socialist characteristics of the latter. However, one may not be disposed even to a negative appreciation, when all the sectors of the economy, including heavy industry, which is, however, the most advanced, have lost their proletarian social characteristics.

Without even speaking of the small peasant, petty artisan, and small merchant, or worse yet, of their subordinates, in what relation does the non-capitalist; the worker of the Russian factory find himself placed? As the workers of bourgeois countries, he does not dispose of the products of his toil (a social relationship, characteristic of capitalist production, which long ago passed beyond the simple artisan-like production and which persists in the "socialist regime"), he does not cease, as in bourgeois countries, to be remunerated in money; this remuneration being the only way to acquire the products necessary for consumption. His level of life is low, and does not see the products of his toil, cease being capitalist merchandise. He continues to sell his labor power; one part of which is withdrawn as profit of capitalism, as in all capitalist countries.

The economic isolation whose self-styled goal to construct socialism has become the permanent situation of Russia. As a result, the extension of militarism. This phenomena, accompanied by a manifestation of pure form of patriotism and bourgeois nationalism, inevitably lies heavy with an enormous economic burden on the efforts of the producing classes. The industrialization plans, four-fifths of which is destined to strengthen the army, with the aim of imperialist conquest, pure and simple, has subjected the factory workers to spasmodic strain. Stakhanovism, with its speed of output, and bonuses offered to the workers reaching the greatest production, is equivalent to the bourgeois "scientific" organization of work; whose object is to squeeze out the very last bit of the workers' labor power. It proceeds to the very opposite of the collective organization of work, which must eliminate the tension of productive effort, and reduce progressively the duration and intensity of physical and nervous expenditure of energy of the worker. This is the way in which work ceases to be a punishment in order to become a social contribution, as necessary to the collectivity, as the utility of the individual.

Under the lashes of the whip, and of the propaganda which demands a maximum of output, the great mass fall into an exploitation most severe, while the small number of the elect, receiving the bonuses, acquire the conservative psychology of a labor aristocracy.

That the Russian worker is in this condition, is implicitly discovered from the moment it is admitted that the union organization of workers, depending on the statified factories, does not exist to defend the interests of employed labor. The unions have no possibility to demand wage increases, or other advantages. They are absorbed and encircled by the bureaucratic apparatus which dictates to them from above, the kind of treatment of the workers. In this, is continued the tendency which prevails in capitalist countries.

In intensifying the exploitation of labor, in a situation where union conquests are impossible, Stakhanovism has conditioned certain reactions at the places of work. From extreme violence, as demonstrated from '33-'36, to recourse to the primitive method of sabotage of machines.



In conclusion, one is able to define the actual economy of Russia, not as socialism, but as a vast and powerful State Capitalism, with a distribution of a private and commercial type, limited by the control exercised in all the domains by the central bureaucratic apparatus, and by the necessities of war. Its characteristics converge with those of world economy; of state intervention in the big bourgeois countries, although there remains a great distance to travel in order to coincide. It is German National-Socialism which realized the most rationalized model of the convergence of these two economies, the more so the war furnished an example of very high output in the utilization of all the energies.

The processes of degeneration and regression which overcame the Russia of the proletarian regime, in the first years of actual State Capitalism, poses and resolves an original and historic problem, offering new scope for the application of Marxist theory.

That which has been established as the road of the victorious revolution has parted ways with that which characterizes present-day Russia; history has confirmed this. The proletariat has not been able to emancipate itself, in breaking violently all the relationships which constituted the capitalist order; in conquering political power at first, afterwards subservient to it, in order to break the multiple resistance to socialism of the old society.

What is, against this, the contrary evolution, which leads to the defeat of the proletarian revolution?

The examples of such defeats before 1920, certainly not to be forgotten:— the Paris Commune to those of Hungary and Bavaria, is the counter-revolutionary action of forces armed by the bourgeoisie which prevailed, battering down the nascent proletarian state; massacring its defenders, and restoring the old institutions. Likewise, the bourgeois revolutions have furnished examples of the return and restoration of feudal privilege, based on open armed action, or else aided, by military defeat in wars with other powers.

The growth of international capitalism, and the domination of its forms of development, are definitively, grounds for not assisting in the restoration of pre-bourgeois and feudal political regimes. The theatre of revolution was, in a sense, capitalist; of new revolutions succeeding to the legitimist and feudal countries, vanquished in the wars between them.

In that which concerns the Russian proletarian regime, by contrast, one must conclude that having been saved from the terrible assaults of the counterrevolutionary assaults of capitalism, it succumbed to another historic form of defeat: not a rapid and violent defeat; not a brutal, armed counter-revolution, that carries out a rough transformation of the State, but a process of regression which has progressively destroyed the characteristics and conquests of the revolution.

In order to render possible, the second type of defeat of the proletarian revolution after its arrival to power, the juncture of diverse factors was necessary.

- 1- The power of the bourgeois class and their States, although shaken by a frightful crisis, are attained in the collision of international forces, to prevent the working class from taking power in the most industrially advanced countries.
- 2- The counter-revolutionary collaboration of the opportunist social-democrats with the bourgeoisie, after having led the most ferocious campaign against Russian sovietism, welcoming it as an ally today, precisely when it presents itself in a degenerated form.

3- The disappearance of the proletarian political movement of the Communist International in relation to the capitalist counter-offensive; the immaturity demonstrated by the impotence of this same International to respond by a bold politics of attack comparable to all the bourgeois forces of right or left.

### The Neo-Opportunism of War

The new opportunism is able to continue today to exploit the symbols and traditions expressed by the revolutionary victory, which, transforming into a historic reality the critical and theoretical aspirations of emancipation, raised after 1917, in the most advanced party of the proletariat of all the countries, an explosive enthusiasm. It is one of the most disastrous aspects of the road continued by the defeat of the proletarian revolution. The leaders of the Russian state still speak, in spite of the enormous changes undergone by it, in the name of the October Revolution; of Bolshevism; of Leninism. It always uses the symbols, the emblems and the flags, which in the years of the offensive, signified so eloquently the general aims of the proletariat. But one of the most effective arguments which has made game of neo-opportunism, has been the fact that the victories of the Russian army, was the army of Lenin and Trotsky, which defeated Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and the champions of the German, Anglo-French, Czarist, militarist, democrat, social democratic capitalist counter-revolution. All this, in condemning certain political and economic directives of the chiefs of present-day Russia. The proletarian groups have hoped that the spirit of the Socialist revolution in Europe will continue to advance as the advance of Soviet arms.

The most critical analysis of the facts will demolish, and have already demolished this illusion. The solidarity of the Russian state organs with those of other conquerors, and in which is concerned the post-war political and social organization appears completely and unconditionally as the reliance on the American bourgeoisie; in the revolutionary innocuousness of the Stalin regime. The difficulties and the contrasts which arise between the two groups are due to rivalry in the shares of the spoils of war.

The revolutionary state is able to have a class army, or of the party, which fights through political consciousness. This is the difference from the bourgeois armies, where an all powerful mechanism which does not permit the contribution of an adherence, voluntary or spiritual, of the fighting man in action, and reduces them to the state of a cog in the wheels of a monstrous machine of destruction. A class army is possible on the sole condition that the revolutionary consciousness of the fighting men of the working class is nourished by a maximum development of political Internationalism, and a Party of the Class which guides the revolution, the state, and the army.

Such an army does not throw itself on an enemy people, and still less does it lend itself to the enlistment and control of so called "liberated" peoples. It will raise at each step in its advance, the class war of the exploited against the oppressors. But that is not possible today when the traditions of the doctrine and action of the Bolshevik party is broken, today where the revolutionary International after concluding a progressive debasement by an inglorious liquidation, is reduced to a few residual places at the service of bourgeois politics.

The revolutionary proletariat must, even if that represents for him a painful effort, declare that the military victories of the Russian armies do not signify, nor have the effect of the victory of the revolution.

The Russian army, emanating directly from the State apparatus, therefore, execute the directives in the most mechanical manner, is a historic force active in the same sense as the force personified in the political state. Since the present Russian state does not have the character of a proletarian political regime, the immense force of its armies is not historically directed toward proletarian revolution, but collaborates, on the contrary, without opposition at the roots of the class, with the capitalist states, in a world plan of stabilization.

The Real causes and not the Formal causes  
of the Degeneration of the Russian Regime

The balance wheel of the economic, political and military activity of Russia, in the decisive historic moments that we examine, is certainly opposed to that which the world working class has awaited during the long years. The revolutionaries, absolutely do not overlook the gravity of such a situation. But the criticism of which does not orientate itself toward the condemnation of individuals, or groups of individuals. The causes are more profound and vast and does not reduce itself to some errors in the application of appropriate directives by the State organism and police of Soviet Russia, no more than by the moral condemnation of Stalin and his clique.

If the world revolution has been stemmed, it is the directives, and the Communist fractions which should have prevailed in the Russian State and Party; a reverse situation to the prevalence of opportunist groups.

No recipe is able to avoid it, and still less that which has been involved in all parties; the issue of true democracy in the Soviet organs, and in the ranks of the Communist Party. The majority electoral system has no value in bourgeois society, nor any value in the midst of proletarian organisms.

It is the situation where the minority of the Party imposes its politics against the majority, as Lenin, in the classic example of 1917, defended it alone in the Central Committee against all. Stalin "understood" this.

The solution of internal democracy leads to the banality that Socialism is democracy, and risks the relapse into the condemnation of the fundamental concept of the revolutionary dictatorship, for which, in the decisive moments of history, the most fruitful events realize themselves not only against the interests of oppression of the minority, but also against the opinion and resistance of the great number.

The socialist power of the proletariat, once established, should remain entirely on the traditional line of this politics; its stability, not a defensive prophylaxis of a moral or juridical type against the egoists, the ambitious, the tyrants, who, thirsty for privilege and power succeed in constructing a new relationship of exploitation. While the political dictatorship of the proletariat will serve to prevent the return of the old layers of privilege, the birth of new exploiters will be prevented by the development of Socialist economy, to such a degree, that they will be eliminated progressively, as well as limited, restrained and controlled as a group. The paramount need; the interest to create new relationships of economic interdependence.

If slavery disappears, it is not because of the influence of Christian faith, or because the general moral conscience disapproves the debasement of human personality to the level of a thing, but because the social output of the exploitation of the enslaved will be superseded, and does not admit of personality.



This is so true, that the reappearance of slavery in America was the work of Christian colonists, by reason of the reappearance of special economic conditions, characterized by a limited population and enormous expanses of unoccupied territory. It is only later, when society was saturated with capitalist economic elements, that slavery was condemned once and abolished.

Early capitalism, which did not know of indemnity against accidents, compared the worth of man and mule in the perilous transports, preferred the man. The death of a mule in an accident represented a part of capital, but not that of a man.

Wages system replaced slavery and which nobody had any interest to restore. The new forms of Socialist production will resist this counter-revolutionary degeneration; their expansion and high output will exclude any social privilege which has the interest to restore the old relationships.

The Russian economy has not been able to catch up to that degree, and it's the reason it has relapsed into the system of exploitation against which the revolution fought. But if such an evolution represents a defeat for the proletarian cause, it does not contradict the fundamental basis of Communism and does not exclude its future triumph.

Translated by D. Atkins  
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